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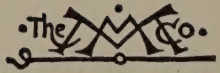
THE NEW HORIZON OF STATE AND CHURCH



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THE NEW HORIZON OF STATE AND CHURCH

BY

WILLIAM HERBERT PERRY FAUNCE

President of Brown University

New York

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1918

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I

THE RETURN OF AMERICA TO THE FOUNDERS

I value our insular position, but I dread the day when we shall be reduced to a moral insularity.

— *William Ewart Gladstone.*

THE NEW HORIZON OF STATE AND CHURCH

I

THE RETURN OF AMERICA TO THE FOUNDERS

WHAT sort of nation constitutes today a desirable member of the human family? Can we divide governments into good and bad? What is goodness in terms of nationality?

In order to make answer we must ask another question: What is a good man? What sort of single citizen is desirable? If, as Plato said, virtue in the state is simply individual virtue "writ large," then our ideal of national greatness and worth must change from century to century as our standards of individual character change.

In the mediaeval age the good man was the isolated man. "Come ye out from among them," the summons of the Old Testament,

was promoted into a Christian precept. Separation was the essence of virtue — whether the separation were achieved by garb or vows or prison walls, or by all of these together. Simon Stylites, standing aloft on his pillar, and drawing up by a cord morsels of bread from the admiring populace below him, was the typical saint. The man who by isolation kept himself unspotted was of a higher order of merit than those who struggled in the dust and heat of daily toil.

But that ideal, while it survives here and there, cannot dominate the present era. With Milton, we "cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue." While in all ages some men may be called to retreat from action for the sake of inner peace, a more virile ideal possesses our best minds today. We feel as did Robert Louis Stevenson when he looked on the monks of Chartreuse:

> "O little boots it thus to dwell
> On the remote unneighboured hill!
> For still the Lord is Lord of might,
> In deeds, in deeds he takes delight,
> And those he loves that under-prop
> With daily virtues heaven's top,
> And bear the falling sky with ease,
> Unfrowning caryatides."

A later conception of the good man came

to light in English Puritanism, and found classic expression in John Bunyan. To him the ideal man was the escaping man. Goodness was essentially a flight from an old and hopeless environment. The Christian put his fingers into his ears to still the voices of wife and children and fled with desperate resolution to a distant city more favourable to his own safety and peace.

This conception of virtue has given the world men of magnificent audacity and initiative. It rejuvenated England and created New England. It shaped much of the hymnology of the Church, and has given to millions a sense of movement and impulsion, and the vision of a distant goal. But it has broken down utterly in the presence of modern problems. It cannot help us when facing the enigmas of poverty and ignorance and crime; it has no message for education, or missionary enterprise, or social reform, or any kind of corporate endeavour. It is a truth, but a half-truth; a bridge that goes half-way across the stream.

What is a good telephone? It is not merely one that is made of the proper materials and fashioned after a certain model. It is one that is in immediate connection with the central exchange and so with all other telephones throughout the land. The value

of the telephone is chiefly in its manifold relations and connections. Its wires are isolated only that its service may be connected with that of all similar instruments in the city or the nation. Goodness in the telephone consists not in beauty of material or pattern, but in close and constant and wide-spread relations.

This is precisely the conception of citizenship which has come to prevail in the modern world. We are not seeking merely to produce men who can practise individual virtues — as Benjamin Franklin set out to practise one virtue each week for thirteen weeks, repeating the whole process four times a year. We are seeking for men who have developed intimate social and spiritual relations with their fellows, who can inspire and sway and lead their generation because by subtle insights and sympathies they are bound into the entire social order. A good man to us is neither in static isolation nor in timorous flight. He is " connected up " with his entire generation. In all their affliction he is afflicted, in all their struggle he participates, to their collective triumph he points the way.

What then is the modern ideal of national virtue and achievement? What has been America's conception of its own meaning and

function in the modern world? Fortunate indeed is it for us that the American government was not established until the early ascetic and individualist conceptions had lost their hold and New England separatism could not hinder or control the permanent union of states. We may well be thankful that Rousseau was more influential than Cotton Mather in the Continental Congress, and that the French encyclopedists, with their new world-horizon, had more to do with the writing of the Declaration of Independence than had the Puritan clergy who were still confined in the circle of Israel's prohibitions and boundaries.

We have sometimes thought of the founders of the Republic as if they shared in the view of America as a land of escape and avoidance. We may have imagined that they intended merely to save themselves and their own children from tyranny, to utter a local protest, and to defy from a safe distance the institutions and powers they had left behind them. Never was there a more inadequate conception of a mighty movement. The founders of our Republic regarded themselves not as deserters but as pioneers. They established a new nation not because they hated England, but because they loved it and wanted to see English liberty

triumph throughout the world. With wistfulness and pathos they named their settlements New England, New York, New London — as the early Christians, compelled to flee from Jerusalem, yet looked back in longing to the city as it might be, and saw their highest heaven as a "new Jerusalem," purged of all the abuses that beset their early home. So the men who came from Holland planted a New Amsterdam, and the men from France founded New Orleans. Men who hate the old and wish to forget it do not write or build in that way. The founders sought here to liberate and realize the old, to assert freedom not only for a strip of American seaboard, but for England, France and Holland, and all the fettered peoples of the earth.

The Declaration of Independence was motived by a sense of obligation to all humanity, "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." It declared not only that Americans should be free and equal, but that all men had been so created; it affirmed "certain inalienable rights" for every nationality, every race and every human being. The signers of that document were not entering a local suit for damages, which could be settled by George the Third; they were appealing to the invisible court of international opinion in

behalf of oppressed humanity. They were raising not the banner of a provincial revolt, but, in the words of Washington, " a standard to which the wise and the good can repair " in every age.

There was in colonial thinking, as in colonial architecture, an amplitude and dignity which in later times somehow dwindled or even disappeared. The simple lines and wide spaces of the old colonial mansion and meeting house gave those structures a fine repose and large outlook which the later buildings, with their petty ornaments, could not reproduce. So the vast affirmations of the great Declaration and the wide horizons of the Constitution have often given way in our later history to a so-called patriotism which was a " twisting of the lion's tail," or at least a parochial assertion of youthful self-assurance.

But in the earlier days America felt itself acting in representative capacity, and provincialism was impossible. Roger Williams and William Penn were conscious that they were no mere founders of settlements, but exponents of ideas. Patrick Henry was pleading for lands far beyond the widest confines of Virginia, and John Hancock's bold, defiant signature could be seen and read far outside of Massachusetts. When Bishop

Berkeley was dreaming on the "Bishop's seat" in Newport, when Rochambeau's troops were encamped in the fields near Providence or were marching through New Jersey, when Steuben and Lafayette were interpreting the patriots of the old world to the pioneers of the new, it was impossible for America to be provincial or to think in terms merely of her own safety. When Franklin was representing America at the court of Versailles, he was the spokesman of freemen throughout the world. When American ships were pursuing Barbary pirates through the Mediterranean, when Thomas Jefferson was importing Italian stone-cutters and attempting to import the entire faculty of the University of Geneva for the sake of his beloved University of Virginia, and when Commodore Perry was knocking at the gates of Japan, then America was clearly no hermit nation, but saw itself as pioneer and spokesman for the marching host of humanity.

But then came the long internal struggle over slavery, shutting out the view of all exterior problems. Then came the Civil War, demanding every ounce of mental and moral energy, concentrating the thought of the nation wholly on self-preservation. Then came new discoveries of western gold, the

founding of great western commonwealths, the building of the transcontinental railways, the development of cotton fields, and all the mighty interior tasks which almost forced America to stay at home in its thinking, and to bury itself in the all-absorbing toil of settling a continent. Thus the enlargement of our national domain meant the contraction of our horizon. America had so swiftly expanded that by sheer force of circumstances Europe seemed far away and foreign, and with Asia none except California had the least concern.

One of our university professors, born and brought up in the State of Maine, relates that one day in his boyhood he found a French school text-book in geography, published in Paris. Opening it in curiosity, he discovered to his amazement that the first map in the book was a map of France. Until that moment he had supposed that in all geographies the State of Maine came first. Some American newspapers published in the Middle West were for decades the most provincial newspapers to be found in civilized lands. Originating as purely local sheets, they had expanded to survey the mild concerns of a juvenile commonwealth. But for them Europe and Asia did not exist. An American teacher who had lived for years in

Shanghai and was spending a furlough on the banks of the Mississippi, reported that he found the atmosphere of American local journalism fairly impossible. In every newspaper published in the English language in Shanghai, Canton, Madras, Calcutta, Bombay or Cairo he could read of the discussions and events in every European capital,— discussions and events of which the local American commonwealth neither knew nor cared to know anything. Many Americans have lived almost as remote from European problems as the Incas and Aztecs before Cortez and Pizarro came.

Not without reason, Mr. Bryce complained a few years ago of the monotony of American life. He meant that one may take the train in New York and alight from it in San Francisco without any marked change of mental climate. The men we meet at the end of the journey dress in the same manner, speak the same language, expound essentially the same ideals, as the men we left behind us on the Atlantic seaboard. Nowhere in Europe can one journey a thousand miles without a complete change of manners and customs, and the facing of international and inter-racial problems. The smaller lands have often led in the forward march of human thinking. Has the very physical

vastness of America inevitably narrowed our horizon and made us less conscious of the world-order than were Franklin and Jefferson? Has our very bigness brought us isolation and blindness?

But the Great War — too great for any name — has changed all that. From an historical standpoint the change should be dated at the time of the Spanish-American War. When Admiral Dewey sailed in the dusk of a May morning into Manila Bay, America silently, unconsciously, glided into a new era and assumed, unawares, responsibilities no future centuries can remove. But the *consciousness* of this world-wide responsibility remained latent until the European conflagration lighted up all the corners of the world. By the light of burning cities we see some things that were not clear even under the midday sun. We see with a strange and appalling clearness — for two and a half years we would not see — that the old American absorption in American problems is henceforth culpable, cowardly and impossible, and that since August 1, 1914, America's interests, obligations and opportunities are coterminous with the globe on which we dwell. "This is the last great war in which we can remain neutral," we heard our President say, and a little later that neu-

trality vanished. Neither in world-war nor world-peace can America ever sit again as spectator of the human struggle. For weal or woe we are protagonists in the great international arena. We have recovered the far horizons of our fathers. We are willing, at last, that America shall speak now, as in 1776, for the inarticulate masses of humanity throughout the world.

This new world consciousness, while it has dawned suddenly, has long been in preparation. It has been steadily promoted by the development of applied science, opening up new avenues for the swift transit of ideas and emotions. Wallace estimated that thirteen great scientific discoveries or inventions were made during the nineteenth century, and only seven inventions of the first rank, like the telescope and the printing press, were made in all the preceding history of humanity. And since the year 1900 we have invented wireless telegraphy, the aeroplane, and the submarine — all of them instruments of speed, aiming primarily at the transmission of intelligence or its protection in transit. The primary result of such inventions is not the advance of science, but the modification or even the transformation of the social order. Every inventor is an unconscious worker in the field of ethics and society.

Until the last century men journeyed from land to land by a stereotyped method. The coach of George Washington travelled no faster than the chariot of Julius Cæsar. Transportation by sea made no progress from the days of Pompey to the time of Nelson. Cleopatra travelled in a boat that "like a burnished throne, burned on the water," and Queen Elizabeth had an almost identical boat on the Thames. Scipio and Benjamin Franklin journeyed at the same rate of speed, whether by land or sea. And ideas could travel no faster than persons; the message could not outrun the messenger. But in the last fifty years we have reduced travel by land to one-tenth and travel by sea to one-fifth of the time formerly required. And no longer must the idea be physically carried in the mail bag or in the pocket of the messenger. The "sightless couriers of the air" carry it with almost the speed of light to the remotest city, while the postman, the merchant, the missionary, or the ambassador, labor along after it. The instantaneous communication of intelligence and opinion and emotion have coördinated and compacted the civilized world, with political and ethical results which we are even now only beginning to discern.

Recently I sat with five hundred engineers at a dinner in Providence. Each of us at the

long tables had a telephone receiver fitted to his ear, and each of us at a given signal was enabled to hear the voice of my friend who was in San Francisco. For several minutes he and I conversed, while the five hundred engineers listened, and the conversation was as simple and natural as if he had been in the next room. Soon we shall be able to talk with any man in any European capital or in any of the chief cities of Asia. That means that all humanity can think the same thought and throb with the same emotion at the same instant. It means that all the nations are provided with a new nervous system, that humanity is now achieving the physical basis of intellectual and moral unity. Vancouver is now neighbor to Yokohama; New York is conversing with Petrograd,

> "And round the world the thought of all
> Is as the thought of one."

Do we dare contemplate a world in which all men are physically near, but socially and spiritually apart? Can we imagine the consequences of physical contiguity combined with social and political alienation? Can we picture a future in which men's bodies shall ever come closer, men's voices ever grow more audible, and men's minds remain alien, suspicious, hostile? Science can bring us

physically near — it must stop there. Then the greater powers of humanity must take up the problem and utilize the new instruments in the service of a common life.

Our new horizon is also due to the swift expansion of manufacture and commerce, overflowing all national boundaries like an incoming tide. Capital is fluid; it can be transferred with utmost ease from land to land; it flows into attractive channels without the slightest regard to the artificial lines on the map. Labor is rapidly becoming mobile. Through steamship lines and the ever-increasing circulatory system of railways emigrants pour in streams into new lands. They mingle the peoples of Southern Europe with the native stock of New England farms, they transform American cities,— whose new streets are named "Angelo," "Raphael," "Hassan"— they erect a temple for Japanese Buddhists in Seattle. Modern business cuts right through all political lines. What we call the business world ignores our maps of the political world. An American farmer is raising cattle for London, to be paid for by selling the stock of a California railroad, which is buying rails of the huge Chinese steel mills in Hanyang, whose directors are building for their employés a Y. M. C. A. building, whose secretaries will be sent from

America — and the circle is complete. Or rather, it is never complete; it is a circle ever enlarging, making the conscious horizon of America to be no less than the horizon of the world.

Literature laughs at our futile boundaries. Shakespeare finds his most constant audience in Germany, Browning his largest circle of readers in America, Poe and Whitman have their chief eulogists in Europe. Lincoln's Gettysburg address is engraved on tablets at Oxford, and Tolstoi and Ibsen speak through American pulpits. Art knows no local barrier, and the finest of the old-world pictures flow in steady stream to our shores. Music soon escapes from its local boundaries and flies, myriad-hued, from land to land.

Thus science, industry, commerce, banking and exchange, literature and art and music are all forces working powerfully against parochialism and "little Americanism." These new powers are all international, or at least super-national. They bear us back to the ampler conceptions of our fathers, to the time when the super-national "rights of man" and the "opinions of mankind" were the moving forces behind American life.

Of this new American attitude President Wilson is as yet our chief spokesman. It is noteworthy that this spokesman belongs to a

party historically opposed to every species of imperialistic policy, the party of individual liberty and social *laissez faire*. Yet such is the compulsion of recent events and of great world-forces, that he becomes the foremost projector of the new horizon. Knowing well that such an advance must plunge us into responsibilities in Europe and in Asia, that it involves us in apparent — not real — disregard of Washington's farewell counsel and a transformation of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American league and ultimately a League of Nations — knowing all this, the President yet dares to recall America to her ancient and original mission as defender of naked human right and champion of wronged humanity. Timid minds will bewail this exposure of the nation to present and future trouble. Small minds will declare that America's only duty is to herself — a doctrine already out of date in 1776. But generous prophetic minds, familiar with the past of the nation, and conscious of its inherent strength and consequent obligation, will eagerly co-operate, not merely to promote a return to the spacious conceptions of the early days, but to derive from those conceptions the duty of leading the world in the assertion and realization of the soul of man.

Here then is the clear duty of our time —

to recover and maintain the broad horizons of our fathers, and to do this out of both patriotism and religion. America is pledged by her founders to eschew all selfish exclusive nationalism, and is, by her religion, pledged to a world-wide human brotherhood. America is, by her origin and history, dedicated to leading the world out of old antipathies and hereditary hatreds into a community of nations and a world-order based on mutual appreciation and respect. In the Indian city of Baroda, whose Maharajah educated his sons in America — so devotedly is he attached to our American ideals — I spent a day with Chief Justice Tyabji, of the supreme court. He was a striking figure, a Mohammedan with a brightly colored turban covering his head and a long patriarchal beard descending upon his breast. I had been taught that all Mohammedans are narrow and intolerant, but I never met a more broad-minded man than that Chief Justice. All day long we talked of the problems of the Orient and the Occident. He said to me: "There are three things that hold humanity apart, and, curiously enough, in your English language they all begin with C. They are caste, color and creed: caste, the idea that where a man is born there he forever must

stay; color, the idea that a man's mere complexion may make it impossible for him ever to be my equal or my brother; and creed, the idea that a man must adopt my religious formula or he never by any possibility can enter my heaven." As we stood there in the slanting sunlight at the close of the Indian afternoon we shook hands,— Mohammedan and Christian,— and pledged one another to fight against those three foes of humanity just as long as we lived! We look for the great days pictured by the English poet, William Watson, for the coming of that

> " morn divine
> When nations shall as forests grow,
> Wherein the oak hates not the pine,
> Nor beeches wish the cedars woe,
> But all in their unlikeness blend
> Confederate to one golden end."

If we are ever to make the nations truly confederate to one golden end, now is the unprecedented opportunity. For the whole world, plunged in grief and blood, now is the accepted time and now is the day of salvation. If the war brings no international reconstruction, no abatement of fear and the armament produced by fear, no release from " reeking tube and iron shard," then the last

state of the world will be worse than the first, and economic war will alternate with military conflicts through all the future. But now the whole world is plastic, like clay awaiting the hand of the master-potter. Now we must plan for the long future, lest, as we were caught unprepared for war, so we may be caught equally unprepared for peace. Behind the fighters must work the thinkers, for fighting without thinking will never accomplish anything. Now is the time to survey the field which is the world, to study the history of the peoples, to keep the map of the world beside the Bible and to pray for largeness of heart as the sand which is upon the seashore. The day of destruction is the day of opportunity. The world is ploughed and harrowed — shall there be no planting of seed? Its old ideas are shattered — shall not Christian ideals now be enthroned? Its old tortuous diplomacy has proved a vain pretence — shall not sincerity and fraternity now have their day?

And this high task of reconstruction is not for diplomats and statesmen only. Every man who thinks at all must think henceforth in terms of the world-order, and every man who labors at any task must make his daily work a part of the rebuilding of a shattered world.

A traveller was watching three stone-cutters years ago building the House of Parliament in Ottawa — that building that has since been desolated by fire — and he said to one of them jocosely, "What are you working for here?" Answering in the same vein, the man said, "For two dollars and a half a day, if you want to know." Then he said to the second man, "What are you trying to do here?" Pointing to the blueprint, he said, "I am trying to cut this stone so it will look like that part of the blueprint." There was a man that had gotten a sense of the relation of his work to that of the workmen all about him. Then he said to the third man, "What are you doing here?" Pointing to the rising walls and battlements and pinnacles of the home of legislation for a great part of the British Empire, the stone-cutter said, "I am trying to do my part in building that!" There was a man whose drudgery was redeemed by his vision, who saw his daily task as a part of the building of an empire. May these days give us that great vision, and so make the toil of every day to mean the building up of a nobler and finer America which shall be at once the leader and the servant of a nobler world.

II

THE RETURN OF CHRISTIANITY TO CHRIST

A whole Christ for my salvation, a whole Bible for my staff, a whole church for my fellowship and a whole world for my parish.

— *Augustine, of Canterbury.*

Europeans always assume that our one hundred and fifty-five varieties of religion are due to American freakishness and unbridled individualism. Europeans do too much honor to our creative intellect. It is Europe which has created the vast majority of American sects. Most of them are direct importations, like the dandelion, the brown-tailed moth, the Russian thistle, and the English sparrow. They were national churches in their native countries; they have become sects here. . . . Most of them are the spent survivals of a past age.

— *Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch.*

II

THE RETURN OF CHRISTIANITY TO CHRIST

"THOU, Bethlehem, though thou be little, yet out of thee shall come a Ruler." Thus the prophet of Israel anticipates the greatest of miracles — that the ruling ideas of modern history should have originated in a despised province and in the soul of an untutored carpenter's son. Out of a meagre hamlet, out of a narrow-minded people, out of a petrified church, out of a religion reactionary and hide-bound, came a message absolutely universal in its contents and intended to meet the vital spiritual need of all ages.

That so great a message could come out of so poor an environment has seemed quite incredible to many scholars, and hundreds of books have been written in the last forty years to prove that "they didn't know everything down in Judea." We are told that it is quite impossible that Bethlehem and Nazareth should give laws, or even suggestions, to New York and London; that since Christ and his apostles expected a speedy ending of the

world their " end ethics " are inadequate for an evolving world; that the view of an oriental peasant must be bounded by his own time and place and can hardly be the *Weltanschauung* of men of the twentieth century. But the real question is not what we might expect to come out of the East, but what has actually come. Our wise men are not the first ones to be surprised at what they find in Bethlehem. Casting aside all *a priori* expectations, let us ask: what are the facts?

Certainly Judaism was particularistic and arrogantly national. " We have Abraham to our father " was the proud boast of those who could not conceive of real human brotherhood. The so-called Mosaic law demanded kindness for the Jew, but cruelty toward the Gentile. Indeed all the old national religions were fiercely intolerant of the stranger. They inculcated the worship of a tribal deity, who was supposed to say to his worshippers: " You only have I known of all the nations of the earth." Such a religion was a constant incitement to war, and a " holy war " is always of the most unholy character. The imprecatory psalms give us a glimpse of " the burning core below," of the savage passion that often surged upward and appeared as pure and glowing piety. To " dash little ones against the stones " was not only justi-

fied as military necessity — as alas! it is to-day — but was urged as the appropriate expression of religious devotion.

Now and then some Hebrew prophet saw beyond this racial barrier and caught a glimpse of the "other sheep" who might be divinely led. "I have called Cyrus" was the message that came through Isaiah. "Blessed be Egypt my people and Assyria the work of my hands" is a cry as of one who beholds all the kingdoms of the world. But the ceremonial law knew no such sentiment. It taught that the people who know not the law are accursed, and it sought to combine the expanding spirit of man in a narrow channel and a prescribed form of worship which, strictly speaking, is impossible outside of Palestine.

And out of such environment, out of mechanical orthodoxy and rigid ceremony, out of a rustic poverty almost destitute of books or teachers, far from all travellers or statesmen or philosophers, came a message international in scope and perpetual in significance. Weary of dispute about the person of Christ, the world is now transferring its inquiry to his great message. Perhaps if we can comprehend the message we shall know the messenger.

The international character of the original

Christian message appears in every section of the life and teaching of our Lord. Palestine was indeed a small and despised province, but it stood at the cross-roads of the world. "This thing was not done in a corner." On the west were Athens and Rome, and on the east the departed glory of Assyria. Phœnicia and Egypt were close at hand, and caravans from one or the other constantly tramped over the plain of Galilee and the shore of Samaria. Life in Galilee was far more modern, more like our own life, than was life in any mediaeval European city. The gospel of Luke, the physician, is more closely in sympathy with the twentieth century than is Thomas Aquinas or John Bunyan. The *Magnificat* is nearer to our way of thinking than the *Dies Irae,* and the praise of love in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians is far more modern than Dante's praise of Beatrice.

In nothing is the teaching of Jesus more intensely modern than in its universality of outlook. To the Roman officer Jesus says: "I have not found such faith as yours, even in Israel." He sits through the hottest hour of the day on a well-curb with a woman of a rival and mongrel race. He delights to heal the daughter of a Syro-Phœnician who acknowledged herself to be among the "little

dogs " that devoured the scraps from Israel's table. The inscription placed at last upon the cross, " in Greek and Hebrew and Latin," was significant of the life that was finished; a life that later compelled the Greek language and philosophy to carry Hebrew prophecy and pour it into Roman law and government, and so shape the modern world.

Jesus himself stayed in Palestine, and regarded his personal ministry as chiefly among the " lost sheep of the house of Israel." But his mind moved outwards and among all nations. We hear this peasant on the hillside saying: " The field is the world; this gospel shall be preached among all nations." He speaks indeed of going " over the cities of Israel," but we are dimly conscious that Israel to his mind, as to St. Paul's, is a vast spiritual kinship, and its cities are the temples of the human spirit. The cosmopolitanism of Jesus shines out against the bigotry of his disciples as a bright sunrise against a lowering sky. " Shall we call down fire from heaven on those hostile villages? " they ask, and he answers: " Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." When certain Greeks wished to see Jesus, he unveiled to them some of his deepest truths.

His parables, quite local and oriental in color, are filled with a sense of vast spaces

and distant movements, as little ships are moved by great trade winds blowing from the deep. The model of all philanthropy is found in a "good Samaritan," and the model of all "slackers" and "quitters" is found in a priest and a Levite. The kingdom is likened to a draw-net cast into the sea, which gathers in its mighty sweep creatures "good and bad of every kind." The leaven hidden in the meal is to stay there "until the whole is leavened."

That sense of working for the whole of things pervades the entire teaching of our Lord. He was indeed a Jew, and shared in the astronomy and cosmogony and all the scientific conceptions of his time. For him the earth moved round the sun, for him disease was demoniacal possession, for him there was no question of the authorship of any book of the Old Testament. In science and art, in literature and music, in home and school, he was the child of his time. But his vision penetrated all times, his line is gone out into all the earth and his words to the end of the world. If in certain utterances he seems to expect an immediate ending of the world by cataclysm, in others he says: "After a long time the Lord of those servants cometh," and "The end is not immediately." If now and then he speaks with the particularism of

his race: "I am not sent save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," he soon recovers the full majestic sweep of his highest conception and cries: "I am the light of the world"; "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me"; "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory then before him shall be gathered all the nations"; "Go ye and teach all nations, and lo I am with you alway." These words open up vaster horizons than those of any Alexander or Cæsar or Napoleon. They dwarf the dreams of a Charlemagne; they make Augustine's "City of God" and Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" and Lord Bacon's "Atlantis" seem like petty local sketches, or like fragments fallen from a mighty edifice.

> "They are but broken lights of thee,
> And thou, O Lord, art more than they."

Again and again, he is besought to return from his cosmopolitanism, to come down from his vast outlook, and return to the provincialism of his own people. But firmly he rejects the invitation to resign the vision of the whole and rest in a part of the whole. His mother and his brethren affectionately bid him stop his preaching for a few moments and enjoy a family reunion. "Who are my

mother and my brethren?" he answers; and then he unrolls before them and us a conception of spiritual kinship which rises above family and city and nation. His teaching overleaps all boundaries as a mighty tide overleaps the crags and caverns and beaches on the shore. His message submerged all considerations of geography, and he boldly said of one disciple: "This which she hath done shall be told in the whole world." It overflowed all considerations of youth and age, of race and language, of office and position. Proclaiming that "God so loved the world," it inculcated love for the unlovely, pity for the pitiless, sacrifice for the undeserving, like "his sun," which shines on just and unjust, and "his rain" which falls on good and evil.

In the early Christian church, as described in the Book of Acts, we see clearly the struggle of two parties; one the party of the Judaizers who would keep the new faith local, Palestinian, a refined type of Judaism, and the other the party of those who were trying to preach deliverance to the captives and realize the liberty of the sons of God. St. Peter at first sided with the Judaizers, but through a striking experience he learned that he was henceforth "not to call any man common or unclean." It was the intrepid spirit

of St. Paul, however, which really issued the Magna Charta of spiritual freedom and unity. A Hebrew of the Hebrews, he yet became the ambassador of a universal gospel and the champion of a universal brotherhood. With a radicalism which knew neither evasion nor compromise, he boldly proclaimed that in the new Kingdom there could be "neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." Provincialism vanished in the fire of his spiritual passion. Petty local attachments, racial prejudices, provincial antipathies, ancient walls of partition crumbled and fell under the impact of his universal gospel. He was proud indeed to be a "citizen of no mean city," but Tarsus dwindled and Antioch and Iconium faded, and Rome itself was but a village when compared with the coming City of God. "Our citizenship," he said, "is in heaven," i.e., all the loyalties of earth are united and glorified in the greater loyalty to the Kingdom of the Spirit.

In all the great days in the history of the Christian church the same note of universalism has been clearly struck. In its victorious days, the church has never been shut away from the vital conflicts of humanity, but has been at the forefront of the human struggle. We often wonder how men of former ages

could have been so profoundly stirred over theological disputes which now seem to us cold and dead. The reason is that religious problems were then not merely theological; they were economic and social and political, and the famous questions about the trinity and about "nature" and "person" were then matters that affected a man's bread-winning, his home, his allegiance to his king. Religion will never be so vital again unless again it is injected into all the problems and struggles of the daily life of the common man.

It is an interesting fact that in America the Foreign Missionary enterprise was born in war-time, and has had some obvious relation to the widening of men's horizon through sacrifice and struggle. In the days of ease and complacency the church may put itself to sleep with the hypodermic of extreme Calvinism. But in days of bitter struggle for freedom the church has sent its messengers into the dark places of the earth to open the prison doors and proclaim spiritual release. It was during the American war of 1812 that the American Board was organized and Judson sailed for India. Thus, while the nation was defending its own rights, the church was asserting certain rights and privileges for those that sit in darkness.

The church did not wait for the success of our navy, but sent out its missionaries because moved in some measure by the same impulse that sent forth our ships — by a determination to assert human freedom for America and for all the world. The driving out of foul idolatries from Burma was closely related to the driving of Barbary pirates from the Mediterranean Sea. Each would have been impossible to "little Americans"; each demanded a kind of international mind.

During the American Civil War, and for a decade after, it might be supposed that the foreign missionary societies would languish. On the contrary, that was the very period when new ones were founded. The admirable work of women for American soldiers led them to ask why they could not be effective in other heroic undertakings. The interdenominational "Women's Union" for missionary endeavor was organized in 1861. The Women's Boards in the Congregational and the Methodist churches were organized in 1867 and 1868. All the women's missionary organizations were started soon after the close of a war which might be supposed to quench all such effort and force us to stay at home.

The Great War now involving the whole world has indeed broken up some mission

stations and rendered some kinds of co-operation impossible for the present. But out of the tumult and carnage, so needless and so awful, is coming already that wider vision, that capacity for world-sympathy and world-sacrifice which is the core of the missionary enterprise. As the missionaries followed our sailors and soldiers into the Philippines, so when this Great War is over there will be such cogency in the missionary appeal as the world has never dreamed of before. Since the year 1914 we have been forced to think in world terms. Strange lands have become familiar, and the map of the world has been really studied for the first time by a hundred million people. Our new sympathy for Russia will surely be translated into missionary endeavor of the broadest type. When Dr. John R. Mott is invited to address the General Assembly of the Russian Church, and when a sacred ikon three hundred years old is taken from the wall of a Russian church and presented to him as a token of grateful friendship, surely "out of the eater comes forth meat" and out of the horror of war comes a new spiritual *rapprochement* of the churches of America and Russia.

When Roman Catholic prelates in Italy are asking America to send Y. M. C. A. secretaries to work among Italian soldiers, are

not the bounds of the missionary enterprise being widened and its work being permanently enlarged? When the prisoners in every belligerent land, sitting behind barbed wire fences or surrounded by stockades and guards, are writing tens of thousands of letters to praise the work done by the Y. M. C. A. and done in the name of Christ, there is going on before our eyes a visible preparation for the Christianization of the world which will constitute a tremendous challenge and a superb opportunity in the day of peace. War, which is itself stupid, irrational, brutal, setting brother against brother and nation against nation, at the same time blots out some ancestral hatreds, destroys pettiness of spirit and so enlarges the horizon that we can never go back to smug seclusion and orthodox complacency. Never can the church say to any young missionary: "Young man, sit down," when the country is calling its young soldiers to enlist. Never can the church be content to become parochial when the mind of the country is becoming international. When the thoughts of all living men are widened by the process of the suns, then is the very time to widen the endeavor of the Christian church. Involuntarily and often against its will the church is thus being led back to the attitude of its

greatest leaders in former days, back to the vision of Judson and Carey and Livingstone, back to the horizon of Christ.

The American poet who most clearly departed from the Christian ethic, both in writing and in living, is yet strangely prophetic in his vision of the essential unity and progress of humanity. Walt Whitman, with his cosmic consciousness, is the poet of the missionary enterprise when he writes:

"What whispers are these, O lands, running ahead of you, passing under the seas?
Are all nations communing? Is there going to be but one heart to the globe?
Is humanity forming *en masse?* For lo, tyrants tremble, crowns grow dim,
The earth, restored, confronts a new era."

But Christianity must unite its own forces before it can effectively urge the nations to unite. It must federate its own sects before it can demand the federation of the world. There must be peace in the church before there can be peace on earth. Therefore the most heartening feature of the present religious situation is the wide-spread, though often inarticulate, desire and demand for genuine union in sympathy and effort. If we cannot settle certain ancient disputes, we can at least ignore them in the name of the Lord.

If we cannot remove the mountain and cast it into the sea, we can bore through it or carry the King's highway around it. This the various churches are now honestly striving to do.

The Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church appointed to arrange a World Conference on Faith and Order has set an example to all other communions in its notable utterance: "Let us confess our part in the sin. It is easy to confess sin in the abstract. What is needed is an honest though humiliating acknowledgment of our part in the making and in the perpetuating of schism. We have much to confess — haughtiness and aloofness, self-satisfaction, false-witness against our neighbors." That utterance of course led to similar confessions on the part of several churches and diffused throughout America a new hope and a new purpose.

But our chief advance lies not in lamenting the past, but in constructive planning for the future. The General Education Board, which has recently entered the foreign mission field through co-operation with the churches in medical work in China, frankly declares: "We do not now propose any great thing in missions unless we can do it together." To which we may add that anything not done "together" is not a great

thing or an enduring thing. Christian givers should be warned not to bestow their aid on any enterprise isolated and narrow-minded,

> —"a garden walled around
> Chosen and made peculiar ground."

In such undertakings the sectarian wall is often very high and the ground within exceedingly peculiar. Quite as much money is wasted in preaching the gospel as in philanthropy or charity — wasted not for lack of high intention and deep devotion, but for lack of any large horizon, any knowledge of what others are doing, any division of labor and conservation of effort. Overlooking and overlapping are as great impediments to the coming of the Kingdom as are inertia and indifference. The church, like the individual, may have a one-track mind. Then, the harder we work, the deeper is the rut into which we fall. But our churches are stirred today as never before by a longing to rise out of the grooves of custom and inherited method and conventional piety, and really to federate efforts in advancing those primal truths in Christianity which underlie all divergencies of creed or race. Emancipated minds in all the churches are rising above the separating barriers, are looking over the man-made fences, and learning that the

garden of the Lord is larger than their own little door-yard.

Briefly we may notice two divisive tendencies which should be kindly but firmly resisted. The first is the tendency to excessive emphasis on the ceremonial element in Christianity. That such an element exists, and must exist so long as we are in the body, we must all admit. We cannot do without the symbolic expression of spiritual truth. Signs and symbols, the pictured experience, the dramatic representation of great events, the physical interpretation of religious life — all these are needed by human beings whose very existence is known to us only through bodily signs. I should myself deem it far better for a man to pray by help of a crucifix or a rosary than not to pray at all.

Nevertheless we must remember that all exaggerated ceremonial opens the door to unspiritual emphasis, to endless misconstruction and dispute. When questions of vestments and candles and rubric and procession are at the van in Christian thinking, the vital principles of the Kingdom are relegated to the rear. The tithing of mint, anise and cummin would not be so bad if it did not compel us to pass over judgment and the love of God. "First things first" is the great essential to Christian unity.

A second tendency which is divisive, because it is materialistic, is the modern growth of the so-called pre-millenarian teaching. This is in some aspects one of the chief dangers of our time. For a Kingdom not of this world it substitutes a literal golden throne in Jerusalem. For a Christ who is with us always it substitutes an absent Christ, withdrawn beyond the stars, and for his spiritual advent, his *parousia* in the heart of the disciples, it substitutes a crude spectacle in the clouds and a material convulsion of the world as the condition precedent to the victory of Christian faith. It builds itself on one obscure passage in a Jewish apocalypse which is interpreted as if it were a modern railroad time-table. It exalts the book of Revelation above the Lord's Prayer and the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and would carry back the church to the primitive pictures and lurid colors of the Judaism of the first century.

That such a materialistic interpretation of Christianity gives comfort to many minds is obvious. It fascinates those who are world-weary and whose hope deferred has made the heart sick. They are discouraged by the gradual processes of the divine method, and finally pronounce the whole present " dispen-

sation " a failure which must be ended by a physical collapse and a physical restoration. The entire theory has close association with the German reliance on might as the source of right. It is a spiritual bankruptcy which in its despair turns back to Old Testament symbols and the material resources of Solomon. But such a theory in all its glory is not arrayed like one of those simple spiritual truths planted by Jesus of Nazareth. Christian unity will not come by descending to material levels, but by rising to spiritual heights. It will rely not chiefly on the Apocalypse, but on the gospel of the Nazarene. It is a message not of despair ending in catastrophe, but of hope, of courage, of unquenchable confidence in divine, and so in human love.

To recover, then, the horizon of Christ is to ensure the victory of the Christian religion here and now. Christ believed that greater than all armies and navies, all crowns and eagles, was the power of persistent love. His love was not " concave," weakly bending inward, passively receiving every impact that came. It was convex and positive, leading him now to open the eyes of the blind and to take the children in his arms, and anon to braid the scourge and whip the money-changers out of church. It was not a species

of endurance, but a species of heroic effort. It is the only hope of the world, as it was the only message of Jesus.

"Why not give Christianity a trial?" says Bernard Shaw. "I am no more a Christian than Pilate was, and yet I am ready to admit that after contemplating the world and human nature for nearly sixty years, I see no way out of the world's misery but the way which would have been found by Christ's will if he had undertaken the work of a modern practical statesman."

"But love will not work," men say. "It is a dream for indulgent hours, a theme for preachers and poets. It has a place on the library shelf, not in the world of *Real-politik* — there it will not work!" Well, will hatred work? Has it worked in these tragic years in Europe? Does it work out peace and happiness, does it bring righteousness and progress?

In a place where an American would not dream of finding it, in the pages of the German newspaper, *Vorwärts,* I find what is at present the clearest perception of this bankruptcy of passion. "Hatred is low, stupid, blind. Take for instance Lissauer's 'Hate of the heart and hate of the hand.' It is the height of folly to entertain this sentiment toward England. England and its colonies

were the best customers of Germany. . . . 'Gott strafe England' means simply God punish German industry, German trade and German workingmen. . . . Hatred is dangerous and people must be taught this and that 'Gott strafe Russland,' 'Gott strafe Frankreich' are cries showing not so much our wickedness as our crass stupidity." No voice since the war began has uttered more clearly the moral and physical breakdown of unreasoning national prejudice and the futility of brutal passion.

If then hatred will not work, love must. If international animosity leads straight to the suicide of civilization, why not try another road, that pointed out and trodden by the Nazarene? "But he did not face our problems," men say. "He never considered governmental questions. He did not face militarism and *Kultur,* and hence he cannot be our guide now." Truly he did not deal with *Kultur,* nor with automobiles and aëroplanes, nor with public schools and Carnegie libraries, nor with city slums and sewage disposal! A recent writer naïvely notes that in the gospels there is nothing said about municipal sanitation. Let us be profoundly thankful that the teaching of Jesus deals with none of these things, nor with *things* of any kind, but solely with attitude and purpose

and character. The teachers of knowledge quickly pass, for if there be knowledge it shall vanish away. But the teachers of power, the directors of purpose, the moulders of character, the great adventurers and leaders in the realm of spirit abide. Supreme among them all is the Nazarene who in a little province and a distant age saw life whole, discerned its profoundest need whether in the individual or group and left behind him a purpose so lofty and far-reaching that when a man adopts that purpose he is saved, and when the nations adopt it — and not till then — they will be saved from the confusion and carnage which have covered the civilized world.

III

THE FUNCTION OF THE CHRISTIAN PATRIOT

What is to be desired is not cosmopolitanism, not the absence of all national characteristics — something added to love of country, not something taken away.

— *Bertrand Russell.*

The Church cannot go on preaching Jesus to individuals and Machiavelli to states.

— *Anon.*

The new [German] Empire was born in a pagan spirit; that is to say, of individualism purely national and selfish, which had taken possession of humanity from the days of the Renaissance, and which had found in Bismarck its ablest and most consistent protagonist; but which was bound fatally to come to a catastrophe, as will everything in this world which endeavors to act against the spirit of Christian truth.

— *Prof. Friedrich Wilhelm Förster.*

III

THE FUNCTION OF THE CHRISTIAN PATRIOT

THE relation of religion to partiotism has always been a thorny subject. The Christian patriot has usually been on the defensive. Does he insist on the large horizons of the Christian faith? Then he is called a dreamer, a pacifist, a man wanting in "red blood"— which seems to mean blood that does not circulate through the brain. Does he devote himself to the loyal advancement of national interests? Then he easily is called chauvinist, jingo, narrow-minded materialist. Evidently we cannot make a pronouncement on the religious value of patriotism until we have settled in our own minds what the word nation means. When we know what a nation is we can decide whether a Christian man should live and die for it.

But no word is more nebulous and shadowy, no word more tragically misleading than that word nation. We cannot consent to die for a shadow, or a fog-bank; yet it

would be hard to find any great idea more truly " without form and void " than the idea of nationality.

Does a nation mean a group of men and women belonging to a single race? Does it mean those united by descent from a single stock? Where can we find such a nation? Not in Canada, where French and Anglo-Saxon have always contended for control. Not in Great Britain, where Saxon, Scot and Celt dwell together. Not in Austria with its duplex monarchy and its multiplex races. Not in any South American state, where Portuguese, Spanish, Indian and Negro blood have been mingled in the veins of every people. On the basis of purity of blood the United States is surely no nation. The melting pot cannot profess to be an incontaminate mountain pool. If common descent were the only thing to die for, American patriots would be few. Judged by the standard of racial purity possibly Iceland is the only land that could be called the home of a nation. Such a standard is impossible.

Shall we say that the essence of nationality is a common language and literature? What then becomes of Switzerland with its three official languages and its inextinguishable love of home? How can we explain Belgium, half Flemish and half Walloon?

Russia includes the language of the Finns and the great writings of the Poles as well as her own extraordinary literature. The United States has at least two million people who do not speak English. A common language is a mighty instrument of unity, but its presence or absence is not decisive.

Is one religion essential to create one nation? Germany has always been both Protestant and Catholic, and her leaders have never dreamed of the disappearance of either faith. The unity of France has been seriously threatened by religious divergence, but other forces have neutralized the danger. China's amazing endurance has apparently not been disturbed by the conflicts of Confucianism and Buddhism, and in Japan the three religious faiths have shown equal devotion to the Mikado. Religious unity is of great assistance in attaining psychological, and so political, unity. But it is by no means indispensable.

Geography offers the poorest possible explanation of nationality. The so-called "natural boundaries" have never been achieved by any people. The map of Europe today is a veritable picture-puzzle. If the map had been cut out by a jig-saw, it could not be more arbitrary and irrational. The various states are dove-tailed into one an-

other; they intersect and overlap and criss-cross; the capital of one seems to be in the territory of another; the coal and iron mines of one are guarded by the fortresses of another; and the mountain-chains and rivers run through all as if in visible defiance and mockery of man-set bounds. A great river would seem to be theoretically a natural political boundary. Yet no German could so regard the Rhine, no Canadian could so think of the St. Lawrence, and no American could so look upon the Mississippi. Mountain ranges like the Pyrenees and the Alps have often served for boundaries, but the Alps recently, as often in the past, have been in the centre of the battlefield. As regards the undefended border between the United States and Canada, that part of the boundary line which runs through forests or open fields is as safe from invasion by either nation as that part which is visibly established by the curve of the Great Lakes. Italy has a peninsula all its own, shut off from the rest of Europe; yet that fact did not prevent the existence in it for centuries of petty warring principalities. Ireland's complete physical separation from England has not brought about Ireland's independence. Holland's physical union with other nations on three sides has not wiped it from the map. No one can

read much history without coming to see much truth in the statement of Professor Ruyssen, that "the geography of a nation is itself the product of its history."

Not even a single government seems necessary to maintain a nation — or at least to maintain that looser kind of group that we call a "nationality" — since the Jews, the Poles, the Armenians are animated by a passionate loyalty nowhere focussed in a central government.

Evidently the idea of a nation, like all the largest and most compelling ideas, easily eludes our attempts to define it. It "breaks through language and escapes." Hence some men have laughed at it as a will-o'-the-wisp. Why talk about that fleeing phantasm, when all the conditions that create it in some cases prevent its creation in others? Why not dismiss it, as a nightmare that has driven the peoples to insane struggle for unreal values, and devote ourselves to the creation of a Parliament of Man, a Federation of the World? Because we dare not dismiss from our thinking a conception which has been growing more and more vital ever since the French Revolution and which accounts in large measure for the lamentable condition of the world today. An idea which created Bismarck and Kosciusko and Mazzini, an

idea which shaped the entire career of Abraham Lincoln, an idea which flames in the breasts of millions today in war and in peace and nerves them to heroic endeavor, cannot be dismissed as a dream of the night.

Without attempting to define nationality, we may attempt to describe it. There are two great characteristics of nationality as we see it today; it is a spiritual thing and it is a growing thing.

Without affirming that a nation is a person, we must at least affirm that in some sense it has a soul, a corporate consciousness, a spiritual principle. Renan was struggling laboriously toward the truth when he wrote: "A nation is a vast solidarity established by the realization of sacrifices which have been made in the past and those which may still be expected." He has touched the very centre of the problem when he makes nationality to be related to the past and the future far more than to the present. A nation is a collective memory and a collective hope. A nation is cemented in remembered sacrifice and maintained by expected devotion.

Such a description admits the Jews and the Poles and the Armenians — peoples without a country but not without memory and hope. Such a description accounts for the loyal devotion of widely sundered portions of the

British Empire, for Quebec with its memory of General Wolfe, and India with its ruined gates at Lucknow, and Egypt with its statue of General Gordon facing the Sudan. It shows us why Lexington and Bunker Hill and Valley Forge and Gettysburg are more potent in American life than any gold mines or wheat fields. The memory of easy prosperous years has no binding force on any people. Only in suffering is lasting unity found. And shared suffering creates a shared obligation to maintain the social and spiritual values for which the suffering was endured. Thus there opens out a shared spiritual future filled, not with barns and banks and mills, but with visions of liberty, of joyous collective action, of abundant self-expression in literature and science and government and religion, and for that shared and glorified future millions gladly live and die.

But such a future obviously means that the nation is a growing thing. Ignorance of that fact is the rock on which ships of state have split again and again. Any people which merely wishes to reproduce and maintain unchanged a noble past — the old Chinese ideal — is attempting both the impossible and the undesirable. On this rock many a theory of the pacifists has foundered.

"What the pacifist does not perceive is that he is hopelessly conservative and stationary in a swiftly moving world."

The maintenance of the *status quo* is the maintenance of perpetual war. We can cut off all the saplings in the forest and make them all six feet high, but they will not long remain so. A true forest means full opportunity for each tree to express its utmost growing power. A petrified forest is a curiosity, not an ideal. A petrified map of the world, whose boundaries should stay unchanged for a hundred years, is a monstrous conception. Nations, great and small, must grow or die. Some may grow in territory, and some in literature, science and art. Some may grow undesignedly and without a plan, as have Great Britain and the United States. Others may be created out of hand, as was Belgium or the Congo Free State. Others may grow by peaceful accession or scientific development, but grow they must in some way, or slowly dwindle and dry up.

Nations may be satisfied with their territory, their population, their influence, for a time. Then the satisfied powers may try to legislate for the unsatisfied, as a pirate having amassed his booty might be in favor of suppressing future piracy at the yard-arm. But no power can arrest social and spiritual

change, and this demands expression in political change. New impulses arise, new conceptions are born, and the new children of the brain demand new cradles to lie in. Changes in social and psychological attitude will demand governmental change. Any national constitution which does not provide for its own amendment will burst under the accumulated interior pressure. Any arrangement of the nations in their relation to one another which does not allow for rearrangement and revision is both hopeless and dangerous. In 1789 there were 360 distinct states in what is now Germany, and by the settlement of 1815 Germany still consisted of 39 states, each with its petty princeling. To establish the *status quo* in Italy in 1870 would have been to doom that historic peninsula to perpetual anarchy. To stereotype the map of India today is to stifle the vague but real aspirations of 300 millions whose leaders are of the Aryan race. No, what we seek today for the true sentiment of nationality is not to stifle it as merely perilous, not to congeal it into permanent and unchangeable institutions, but to recognize it as a potent force in the life of the world and to afford it liberty under law. We must appeal to it, harness it to great world enterprise, and give to the nation, as to the individual,

room for self-realization in the changing world.

Christianity, then, cannot abandon or ignore nationalism, unless it is to adopt frankly an ascetic ideal and retire from the world of human struggle. Patriotism, the local attachment of a man to the memories and hopes of his own political group, is a vast and growing force in the life of the world. In many ways nationalism, the demand of patriotism for expression in self-government, is more powerful today than ever before. This nationalism is a peculiarly modern growth. Under the ancient Roman Empire it scarcely existed. The conquered provinces were incorporated in the imperial structure and local attachments were swallowed up in the imperial policy. The Apostle Paul, proud of his Roman citizenship, felt no particular regard for the province in Asia Minor where he grew up. When he speaks of the Jews as "my nation" he does not refer to any local government. He passed from Asia into Europe and Europe into Asia with no sensation of any change in psychological climate, or in allegiance, or in methods of work. The world was one world then.

In later centuries the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Catholic Church were the ob-

jects of allegiance and devotion throughout Europe. The Crusades bound the nations together against a common foe and mingled all nationalities in a common enterprise. Just as our modern religious denominations had not arisen, so most of our modern nations were unborn. One church claimed all human beings as her children, one empire, however shadowy and unreal, claimed universal devotion down to the time of Luther.

But the Reformation destroyed the ecclesiastical unity which had become corrupt and intolerable, and religious denominations began to arise. What we do not so clearly perceive is that the Reformation also shattered political unity and gave the death-blow to the vision of a Holy Roman Empire. Henceforth there was to be no universal church that could crown and legitimize the universal monarch. The principle of individualism was introduced, for weal or woe, both into religion and politics. Luther cordially approved the principle *cujus regio, ejus religio* — let each prince determine for his own people both the government and the creed. The great movements toward the union of princes and principalities into ever growing states have largely arisen within the last hundred years.

Thus we see how very young and inexperi-

enced most of the modern nations are. Their governments are largely *parvenus*. The German Empire was born in 1870, and the French Republic is no older. Italy did not attain governmental unity until 1871. Not one of the South American republics was established before 1820. While England has endured for centuries, the Portuguese Republic dates only from 1910, and the Russian Republic was proclaimed in the year 1917. These changes in political structure are recent because the whole vast growth of nationalistic sentiment is recent. Changes in the government have been wrought under the pressure of a seething mass of nationalist feeling, often unaccountable to historians and unwelcome to rulers, but irresistible when fully aroused.

What then should be the attitude of Christianity toward patriotism? It should be the same as its attitude toward denominationalism. To attempt to crush out all denominations as anti-Christian, or to ignore them as transient and irrelevant, would be a fatal blunder. Surely there are psychological, if not theological, reasons for their existence, reasons which always command our interest and often our respect. On the other hand, to erect these denominations into water-tight compartments, to allow them to exist as non-

co-operative units, is to ensure their development into competitive and ultimately antagonistic bodies. Diversity in unity —" many as the waves, one as the sea "— is the hope of the Christian churches for the future.

Precisely analogous is the function of patriotism. A man owes his utmost allegiance to his own social and political group. His service, his property, his life, must be freely offered to preserve those ideal values for which his country stands on earth. But we should not forget Kipling's significant line:

> " What should they know of England who only England know? "

The patriotism which refuses the horizon of religion, which will not look beyond the accidental boundary of its own political group, which owns no kin beyond sea and no obligation to the world order, is a pinchbeck patriotism which should rather be described as political bigotry and Pharisaism. Such patriotism isolates the government which it professes to serve, destroys the hopes of large and generous minds, and would keep forever the civilized world as a domain of competing and hostile governments. Such patriotism is mere political sectarianism, and when fully blown must express itself in the cry of " world-power or down-fall." But

the patriotism of sincere and generous leaders, in church and in state, is devotion to the group for the sake of service to the world. It is attachment to one locality, one ideal, one group of laws and institutions in order that through them there may come a new birth of freedom to all mankind.

There are indeed in current nationalism certain tendencies which Christianity cannot promote or countenance. Foremost among these is the spirit of national conceit. Americans have castigated this spirit in their own land under the name of "spread-eagleism." Each nation blindly concentrating its effort on the promotion of its own development alone, inevitably tends to believe itself the Lord's anointed. Ancient Israel represented God as saying to the nation: "The nation and the Kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish." The divine mission of Israel was perverted into a commission to destroy all other peoples and to "save alive nothing that breatheth." In exactly the same spirit the great empire of Spain equipped and sent forth its armada. Then Holland and Portugal claimed authority to divide and conquer the world. Later England claimed an over-lordship on earth and sea which was checked only by the American Revolution. Then France, under Napoleon, dreamed of

world empire, and nearly attained it. And now the Pan-Germans, with a peculiar blindness to all the past, take to themselves all promises once made to Israel, regard their race as the true political Messiah, and warn all peoples not to resist "lest they perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little." One great function of the church is to rebuke and destroy this racial pride. National conceit can be exorcised only by the spirit of national service to humanity.

So Christianity must from its inherent nature oppose the idea that the ultimate solution of national problems is to be found in brute force. One of the finest of Barye's bronzes represents a combat between a tiger and a crocodile. The tiger has wandered down to the river where the crocodile lies sunning himself on the bank. As they meet, these hereditary foes at once engage in a natural struggle for a "place in the sun." The bronze is superbly alive. One seems to see the blood gushing from under the tiger's claw buried in the scaly back, and can almost hear the swinging of the mighty tail as it lashes the tiger's body. That is the brute's way of settling a dispute; that is the law of the jungle. The most amazing thing in modern ethical discussion is that intelligent men are still found who honestly believe that among

nations the brute's way of settling a quarrel is the only way and that the law of the jungle is the most fundamental law of international life. These men look with horror on such a method of achieving justice between man and man. They repudiate the method in conflicts between the labor union and the capitalist; they condemn, as impious and blasphemous, the old wars of religion. They cannot conceive the petty states of Italy as again deciding supremacy by the ordeal of battle, or the thorny problems of Ireland being deliberately submitted to the final solution of bayonets in the streets of Dublin. Such men look with pity and contempt on the eighteenth century duel with its fanciful code of honor as a preposterous mode of adjudication between individuals. But with a blindness which no argument can explain they still believe that in a contest between nations — even petty states whose entire population would not make one great city — there is no arbitrament but that of the sword, and no way out save the way of the crocodile and the tiger! This senseless inconsistency Christianity cannot countenance.

The Christian nation may indeed repel force with force if attacked. But in the very act of physical self-defence it is dreaming of and planning for a better way. It knows

that if wars have settled many questions they have settled them wrong as often as they have settled them right. Hence if a Christian nation stoops to force temporarily and under sudden compulsion, it aspires permanently to the adjudication of reason and law.

And when Christianity is challenged by the assertion that all law depends absolutely on physical force, and that it is never stronger than the armies behind it, Christianity, taught by history, denies the assertion. It is, rather, law which produces and maintains force, not physical force which maintains law. Where the moral law is observed by individuals, where social and economic law is obeyed in industry and commerce, there a virile and forceful people is the result. Where the laws of public right are observed by the nations, there governments wax powerful in resources. The real sanction of law is public opinion. Where that does not exist the law becomes a dead-letter; where it does exist in sufficient strength, the law becomes self-executing and needs no bayonet or dungeon. Only when public opinion is halting and flaccid, or is passing from weakness to strength — only then must it summon the policeman's club or militia to enforce its behest. The state must indeed use force within and without, to maintain its authority

in a time of the breakdown of internal or of international order, just as the individual must temporarily resist by force the burglar who would rob his home, using on the intruder the very weapon the burglar would use on him. But the true citizen realizes that he must not stop his efforts when he has driven off the marauder; he must at once take measures to establish better conditions in that part of the city, so that such a contest with pistols or bludgeons may not be necessary again. The state may similarly repel the invader, but must at the same time seek to establish such international arrangements and sanctions that international burglary shall not again be attempted. But to affirm that every nation must forever expect burglary, and that there can never be any sanction save that of weapons and no court save that of the battle-field and no law save that of the burglar's code — that is the suicide of Christian morals and Christian faith.

Here, then, is the high function of the Christian patriot. His religion, with its world horizon, does not release him from his duty to his native or adopted country. Rather does religion enforce and interpret his nationalism. We do not dream of abolishing states or merging all local patriotism in a vague and colorless cosmopolitanism.

If we could divest men of attachment to their native land and make them mere undifferentiated units in a monotonous world-society, we should not only exchange a picturesque and parti-colored world for a drab and wearisome collection of inhuman beings, but we should lose the very stuff out of which the world-order is to be constructed. We should be blotting out the natural loyalty which is, in order to create a loyalty which we hope for in the distant future. If a man love not his city and state that he hath seen, how can he love a world-state which he hath not seen? Incapable of devotion to men near him, how can he develop devotion to humanity at large? We rightly discount his professions of zeal for human welfare, unless he is ready for unselfish service in the streets of his own city, in the voting booth, in the bank and the mill, in the common council and the halls of legislation.

But when we have thus proved our loyalty to kindred and country, true patriotism does not stop there. The patriot's horizon is a series of concentric circles. The inner circle includes family and friends, and to them we must be true. Beyond that is the circle of one's own city or state,— interests and responsibilities that cannot be ignored. Outside of that is the circle of the nation with all

its millions of men and women and a life which may be centuries long. To live and die conscious of that great horizon is to live and die nobly. But outside of the nation is the *orbis terrarum,* the circle which includes the vital and eternal interests of humanity. To be blind to that great horizon is to be a little American and a fragment of a man. The true patriot, like the true Christian, is a citizen of the world. He cannot rest in the thought of a world made up of eternally hostile units. The "day" for which he longs is nothing less than the "day of God." He is working for an invisible order which his own faith in it is assisting to create. Into that order they shall come from the east and the west, the north and the south; from the north with its intellect and the south with its loyal emotion, from the west with its love of action and the east with its brooding calm. All nations with their peculiar gifts, their racial talents, shall some day rise into a mutual understanding and alliance which shall guarantee "at last, far off, at last to all," freedom and opportunity, and shall foreshadow, if it does not establish, the Kingdom of God.

IV

OBSTACLES TO THE INTERNATIONAL MIND

We can never undo what has been done, and we cannot stop what is now going on; but what we can do is to help to prepare a new order in which these things will never occur again.

— *Baroness von Suttner.*

As yet lingers the twelfth hour and the darkness; but the time will come when it shall be light, and man will awaken from his lofty dreams and find — his dreams all there and nothing gone save his sleep.

— *Jean Paul Richter.*

Soon rested those who fought; but thou,
Who minglest in the harder strife,
For truths which men receive not now,
Thy warfare only ends with life.

— *William Cullen Bryant.*

IV

OBSTACLES TO THE INTERNATIONAL MIND

ONE of the curious things about the recent mood of the world is the rise of a great aversion to the word "peace." In the last twenty-five years peace movements of many kinds have sprung up in all civilized lands, arbitration treaties have multiplied, peace congresses have been held in nearly all the capitals of the world, the great plans for a world-state outlined by Saint Pierre, by Alexander I, by William Penn, by Immanuel Kant, have been reprinted in many languages, and the whole world has been dreaming of world-peace. Now suddenly widespread aversion to the very word has developed. Is this the mere reaction always aroused by war? Is it that much talk of peace in a time of extreme danger savors of treason? Or does the reason lie deeper yet? The fact is indubitable. The Federation of Churches has recently transformed its "Commission on Peace and Arbitration" into a "Commission on International Justice and Goodwill." The "League to Enforce Peace" has seriously

discussed dropping the word peace from the name of that organization. Several societies, heavily endowed with funds to be expended in peace propaganda, have practically suspended work and gone into hibernation for the period of the war. Various governments have refused to allow their citizens to attend peace conferences in other lands. The word pacifist has become a term of opprobrium and contempt; and the word peace has been largely avoided by prophets and statesmen who are devoting their lives to the establishment of peace on earth. Is this due to the submergence of all idealism in the carnage of battle? Rather, I believe, it is due to a growing perception that our idea of peace has been weak and inadequate and that something beyond peace is what the world really needs and longs for.

We blunder when we think of war as action and peace as inaction. War is really idleness for the majority of men engaged in it. It means the stopping of the processes of industry, the prohibition of travel and transportation, the banishment of workers from the harvest fields, the cessation of building in the cities, the paralyzing of all labor save that which supports the destruction of labor and life. But peace is action, or rather opportunity for action. We are not

against war because men suffer, but because life stops. We are for peace, not because we like it, but because through peace life itself may go on and develop.

One great obstacle to world-peace is the passive and flabby conception of peace which dreamers and sentimentalists have set before us. Rejecting the philosophy of blood and iron, they have sometimes offered us a philosophy of milk and water. They have urged upon us a vast and permanent negation. They have praised universal political cessation, a sort of international vacuum. "Lay down your arms" can never be an inspiring summons to humanity. Disarmament is a merely negative policy. Non-resistance is a purely negative principle. The dismantling of fortresses, the disbanding of armies, the disablement of battleships — all these are attempts to undo the past rather than to construct the future. They are attempts to cripple great human powers rather than to control and direct them. They propose a dreary millennium without struggle, a world-wide Quaker-meeting, a colorless monotony of nations. At this point the pacifist joins hands with satisfied imperialism and seeks to confirm and perpetuate the *status quo*. The advocates of peace have sometimes appeared to be apologists for injustice and willing to

crystallize the results of injustice into permanent forms. Thus Christianity, originally a revolutionary force, has been interpreted as being mainly an anodyne, and the Sermon on the Mount, which contains, as John Morley points out, so many "volcanic elements," has been made to support things as they are rather than things as they ought to be. President Wilson hopes for a time when "peace shall be made as handsome as war." But the peace which is merely "keeping off the grass," merely staying in one's own territory, is unhandsome and dreary and intolerable. Peace is but a means to an end, a mere preparation for the constructive tasks of civilization.

Two churches in a great American city recently tried to unite and form a single organization. For a year they worshipped in the same building. Then they decided that union was impossible and a final separation came. When an officer in one of the churches was asked why peaceful union proved impossible, he answered: "Because we did not undertake any great work together. If the two congregations had shouldered any common enterprise, union would have quickly resulted. But for a year we simply sat under the same roof and looked at each other — and then of course we had to

separate." So it is with all attempts which exalt union, or concord, or peace into an ultimate aim. Peace, like health, is not a goal to aim at, but a condition precedent to our reaching the goal. Peace among nations, as among smaller bodies, comes as a by-product when nations unite for common defence, for lifting common burdens, for discharge of common responsibility. He who assists in creating a feeling of common responsibility, a corporate consciousness among the nations, is in that very act creating peace. He is the true peace-*maker*.

Another obstacle to the international mind is to be found in perverted forms of education, whether unconscious or deliberate. "Whatever we wish to insert in the mind of a nation we must first introduce into its schools." But through their schools the various nations have often hindered international understanding, and have sown the dragon's teeth from which spring up the armed men. Our school histories have often given our children a provincial outlook, have taught Americans to dislike Great Britain, Germans to hate France, and Italians to suspect Austria. Our popular newspapers and magazines have disseminated hostile rumors, fanned smouldering suspicions, and aroused animosities which no diplomacy can

counteract or restrain. America is the one land in the world where race-hatred is most senseless, since here all races must live together through all coming time. America ought not to be a "melting-pot" in which all racial characteristics are melted down and fused into a nameless mass. Rather should it be a garden in which each race should develop its own highest qualities, assisted by the cross-fertilization which ever develops new colors and forms of life. In such a land, to set race against race is to incite civil war. Here, if anywhere on earth, racial understanding and mutual interpretation should be possible.

Such understanding is not a matter chiefly of sentiment, but of perception. It is not a kindly emotion of the tender-minded; it is real insight into facts. We need what Felix Adler calls "respect for unlikeness," and such respect is the inevitable outcome of actual knowledge. International justice must be founded on international appreciation, and such appreciation every broad-minded citizen can steadily promote.

Why do we ever speak of "Dagoes"? Simply because of ignorance. Simply because we do not know — or fail to realize — that our Italian population has brought to this country more than muscle and sinew. It

has brought a love of color and spectacle which has brightened our slums, a love of beauty in art and literature which our sombre Puritan temperament has failed to develop.

Why do we speak of "Japs"? Simply because we do not know that the moral code of the Japanese Samurai, Bushido, was one of the finest codes the world has seen, and many of its chivalrous precepts might well be imported into our industrial and commercial life.

Why do we speak contemptuously of "Chinks"? Merely because we do not know — or fail to realize — that 600 years ago the imperial court in Pekin was in culture and refinement and wealth far beyond any court in Europe, and that the Chinese, sagacious, solid, sensible, are the true Romans (as the Japanese are the Greeks) of the Eastern world.

"Sheeny," we allow our children to say in contempt, because we do not realize that all the religion we have — which is none too much — and a large part of our music and philosophy have come to us through the mind of Israel.

The German "Hymn of Hate" has shocked the world, and its results have alarmed even its author. But it is only the frankly brutal expression of sentiments that

are widely diffused by thoughtless writers. A hymn of hate directed toward Japan appeared recently in a widely circulated American journal. Twenty years ago an article appeared in the English *Saturday Review* which has during the Great War been quoted in every German city and by many a German leader. The English writer said: "In Europe there are two great irreconcilable opposing forces. England, with her long history of successful aggression, and Germany compete in every corner of the globe. . . . If Germany was extinguished tomorrow, the day after tomorrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be richer." Such utterances have furnished munitions of war to the Treitschkes and the Bernhardis of today!

But if men and women can be educated into mutual hostility, they can be educated out of it. If our schools have produced narrow nationalists, sometimes by design, they can be so conducted as to convey "respect for unlikeness," admiration for qualities that are supplementary to our own, and can be made to teach that "above all nations is humanity."

A third obstacle to international understanding has been the curious attempt to limit ethics to the sphere of the individual life and

to deny that the Christian religion has any application to national conduct. Diplomats and statesmen have solemnly informed us that the Ten Commandments and the entire morality of the New Testament are intended for individuals only, and have no relation to the conduct of states. They have saluted the moral law as admirable in the nursery and the school-room, and have politely bowed it out of the chambers of diplomacy and the halls of legislation.

But what are we to think of an ethical code that is valid in small affairs and petty enterprise, but is excluded from the weightiest agreements and undertakings of humanity? Can we continue to respect an obligation that holds good as between two shop-keepers, but breaks down utterly as between two ambassadors? Are we ready to reverse the old maxim "*De minimis non curat lex*" and make it read: "In the greatest affairs the law is not concerned"?

We are well aware that the analogy between the individual and the nation must not be pressed too far. The nation is not strictly a person with a single consciousness and single will. Legislators and rulers are trustees for millions yet unborn. But for that very reason they must beware of belittling the moral law by confining it to the small dis-

putes and the transient relations of humanity. A law of gravitation which holds true for pebbles on the shore and not for the stars in their courses is a law in whose very existence we cannot believe. A law which restrains the individual robber and has no application to the theft of a province is a law which the individual malefactor will not long respect. A supposed power which affects only the individual and may be safely ignored by the corporation, by the insurance company, by the railroad, is a delusion and a snare. A law which does not bind the city or the nation to elementary truth and justice and fidelity and mercy and brotherhood is a law which deserves, and later will receive, the contempt of the individual.

Especially to be resisted by the Christian church is what may be called, without irreverence, the side-tracking of Jesus of Nazareth in the most vital concerns of humanity. If his teaching does not apply to groups as well as to single persons, it is of slight significance. Really the dominant morality of the Old Testament is a group morality. Both the Old Testament narrative and the book of Acts begin with the story of economic readjustments. The oppression of the Pharaohs, the industrial exactions which crushed the spirit of the whole people,

led up to the cry: "I have heard their groanings; let my people go." In the New Testament the first problems of the church were group problems, and the first dangerous situation arose from economic protest — a "murmuring of the Greeks against the Hebrews," because of poor financial administration. The theme of the Old Testament is largely emancipation from economic slavery through the power of religious faith, and the theme of the New Testament is largely the reconciliation of racial and political differences through supreme devotion to a common Lord. To deny that Christianity is a message to groups and to that largest of all groups, the modern nation, is to eviscerate Biblical history, and to confess that the Christian code is itself a petty and negligible code of personal etiquette. Rather do we agree with John Milton's far-reaching declaration: "A nation is one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth or stature of an honest man."

Many men have said that one of the most tragic things in the Great War has been the helplessness of the Christian church. Throughout the three years the church, Protestant and Catholic, has devoted itself to alleviating pain and mitigating conditions it could not control. At times it has seemed as

if the church were no longer a leader, but a trailer, following the armies with bandages and liniments. To bind up the brokenhearted is indeed a mission that the Highest did not disdain, but it is never the highest mission. The highest task that we can undertake is to prevent hearts from being broken and to unite them in great endeavor. The church can no longer compel empires to do its bidding. It cannot summon another emperor to a modern Canosa. It cannot wave its wand over the field of battle and produce a "truce of God." And if it could thus stop the strife for a week, or a year, or for five years, unless some interior change should be wrought in the mind of the people, at the end of the truce they would resume the struggle all the more fiercely because of the respite. But without any magic wand, without any *ex cathedra* assumption of authority, the church can today outline to a waiting world the moral task of the future. What is it that the world must undertake in the years that lie immediately before us?

One of the first tasks is to oppose and replace the outworn conception of a sovereign state. For centuries we have taught that the individual must renounce certain rights and surrender certain privileges for the common good. For centuries we have

been wrestling with the larger groups and powers which threatened human liberty. The monasteries were suppressed when they became defiant and intolerant. The universities have everywhere been made obedient to the law or supplanted by new institutions responsive to the common will. The church has been shorn of many civil powers that proved dangerous to the social order. Meanwhile there has developed a conception of the state as an irresponsible non-moral power, which threatens to bring both moral and political anarchy into the modern world. This political Frankenstein has been created, as it were, behind closed doors, and the greater part of the world has been unaware of its gradual construction. It has taken shape in the minds of a few thinkers and then has been acclaimed by multitudes as the object of eternal loyalty and devotion. The duty of the church is to utter again the cry once heard when Nebuchadnezzar demanded obeisance to his huge idol in the plain of Dura: "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

The conception of a world of competing absolute sovereignties, unknown to ancient Greece or ancient Rome, undreamed of in the Middle Ages, is a modern conception born

in the Napoleonic era and of Napoleonic ambitions. The leaders of Germany a hundred years ago held no such conception, but on the contrary saw each nation as subordinate to the welfare of mankind. Goethe was not disturbed in his studies by the thunder of the cannon at Jena. It was not that he loved Germany less, but humanity more. Schiller wrote: "The most powerful nation is but a fragment." The Germans of a hundred years ago were not primarily patriots, but dreamers of a world-order, devotees of humanity. Lessing frankly said: "I have no conception of the love of country." From such an extreme position reaction was inevitable. Through Hegel it came to the German nation in the form of the conception of a state which owns no law, since it creates law. That conception has waxed stronger with the years until the state is now presented to millions as a non-moral monster, superior to all law, released from every obligation save the will-to-power, and feeding its colossal egotism on the ruin of smaller, feebler states. We cannot Christianize international relations while that huge idol is worshipped by millions. In truth, the idol was invented in order to sanctify political greed and hallow military conquest. The first and most imperative task is for free churches and

free states to expose the hollow pretence of this huge national idol and shake it from its foundations. There is no such thing as absolute sovereignty on earth and never can be. The larger a state becomes the weightier its responsibilities and the more imperative its duties become. Nations must renounce, as individuals have been compelled to do. "Absolute sovereignty," says a modern writer, "means absolute anarchy." The idea of each state as a separate irresponsible sovereignty, competing with a score of other irresponsibe states for markets and provinces presents to us the nations as merely gigantic swine around a world-trough. This swinish philosophy cannot supersede the ideals of religion and the hard-won gains of international law. It may have its day, but it will cease to be. The churches of Christendom need to recall their fundamental principles and affirm again that they will not worship at the shrine of a pagan state.

But while we repudiate such conceptions abroad, we must resist them at home. Materialism in all its forms plays straight into the hands of militarism. A newspaper published under the shadow of our national Capitol affirmed less than two years ago: "Bombs and dollars are the only thing that count today. We have plenty of the one;

let us lay in a good supply of the other and blast a path to world leadership as soon as the opportunity presents itself." Nothing in Bernhardi can be more unblushingly brutal. The *Seven Seas Magazine* in November, 1815, expounded America's future thus: "The imperialism of the American is a duty and credit to humanity. He is the highest type of imperial master. . . . There should be no doubt that even with all possible moral refinement it is the absolute right of a nation to live to its full intensity, to expand, to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means, such as armed conquest, commerce, diplomacy." "To get rich and richer"— that as the national goal is the quintessence of unbridled materialism. "To live to its full intensity" is a vivid description of the aim of the army that ravaged Belgium. In such sentences America feeds the forces of militarism beyond the sea, and leads men everywhere to ask whether democracy is safe for the world.

But if we dethrone absolute and lawless sovereignty we must exalt and establish the collective sovereignty of Christian civilization. Collective sovereignty means some sort of League of Nations to discharge collective duty to humanity. All the belligerent nations today have officially recognized the

desirability of some sort of permanent league, some covenant in which the will of all nations shall be supreme above the ambition or greed of any one. We already have a league for defence — eighteen nations have been banded together in war. Hereditary enmities were all forgotten in the stress of common danger. France and Great Britain have laid aside six centuries of mutual suspicion. Russia and Japan, springing at each other's throats a dozen years ago, became allies. International hatred is often transient because it is irrational. If races and peoples can thus unite under stress of danger, can they not unite under the pressure of responsibility for civilization? If they can co-operate in the destructive task of fighting, can they not co-operate in the imperative task of rebuilding?

The history of the United States has proved to the world:

1. That states may be successfully and permanently federated, though they are unequal in size and wealth and intelligence, though diverse in racial origin and polyglot in language, and though geographically thousands of miles asunder.

2. That diminution of sovereignty may under proper guarantees mean increase of security and assurance of growth.

3. That a federation need not be a perpetuation of the *status quo,* but may provide within its ample limits for the admission of new states, the division of old states and for frequent amendments of the compact by which all the states are joined.

To have offered such a demonstration is a vast service to humanity and has so affected human thinking that whereas there were in 1776 only four small republics in the world — Genoa, Venice, Holland and Switzerland — there are today only four absolute monarchies of any considerable importance — Japan, Germany, Austria and Turkey. Nine-tenths of the world is now under democratic, or at least constitutional, government. With a great sum have they obtained this freedom, and by their struggles they have been brought into mutual understanding and kinship.

Already the great forces of civilization are internationalized. Commerce refuses to recognize national boundaries, but passes through every open door. Banking and exchange are stronger than race prejudice. Socialism cannot be confined to any empire or republic. The newspaper speaks its message in all languages. The Postal Union declines to consider the changing policy of cabinets, having the permanent interests of

humanity in charge. There are now over thirty international agreements among modern nations, all of recent growth. These all have established international unions, to care for postage, telegraphs, navigation, prisons, insurance, opium, submarine cables, the white slave traffic and other international interests. One of the latest and more valuable is the Pan-American Scientific Union. In all of these cases we have attained united governmental action of a positive character, in the promotion of world-welfare, and the limitation of sovereignty has been self-imposed on each co-operating nation. These are a few of the exigent tasks of civilization, which no nation could perform alone. They are constructive efforts at the creation of a fairer, finer world. These things have been accomplished, not through intricate discussions of the relation of states, but through the perception that a definite piece of work needs to be done and that no single sovereign isolated state can do it. These co-operative agreements were born, not out of fear of some future collision, but out of the clear discernment of a present need. A League of Nations based purely on fear of war carries within itself rankling memories and thinly disguised animosities. It may be the transient co-operation of men that are drowning

in the open sea, rather than the steady partnership of sailors in steering a ship. But the really inspiring work of civilization — the moral equivalent of war — is largely a work yet to be attempted. There are Suez canals and Panama canals yet to be built. If tuberculosis is to be wiped out by applied science, the scourge must be attacked in New England, in France, in China, in India — only as an international enterprise can it succeed. If the Desert of Sahara and the desolated valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris are to be recovered for human homes, the work should be done by international agreement and co-operation. If a railroad is to be built from New York through to Valparaiso it must be perforce under international control. Such control may be the only solution of the future of Constantinople. Such control of the most important straits and narrow channels of the ocean will be undertaken as soon as we realize how some small states are today " bottled up " and fairly suffocated.

No little state must be left dependent on the varying moods of a powerful militant neighbor. Yet, on the other hand, no little state can be guaranteed unlimited power to do as it pleases. To set up in the Balkans, for example, a group of Lilliputian states, intersecting one another, and all claiming the old-

fashioned sovereignty, would be ludicrous, if it were not tragic. Absolute autonomy cannot be granted to every little state that wants to live a hermit life. There will be no absolute autonomy left when the world is truly civilized. All that the small state can ask is that it shall not be left to become the prey of an envious neighbor, but shall be made a co-operating member of an international league. Such a league will have a certain right of eminent domain, and the small state may not blindly block human progress. But to guarantee to the small state the protection of all is to free it from the fear of any one. Then tasks of a magnitude beyond all we have hitherto attempted will be begun, and the audacity and inventiveness of man, released from paralyzing fear, will proceed with the creative labor of reshaping, physically and socially, the world.

Does this mean a possible intervention in the affairs of a single state? Assuredly it does. A church which is committed to the foreign missionary enterprise is already committed to intervention, non-political indeed, but far-reaching. The establishment of Robert College was intervention in the social and ethical ideals of Turkey and Bulgaria and Armenia, more decisive than the sending of battle-ships — and much less expensive.

Even political intervention we need not fear when performed by the assembled forces of civilization, as when the Boxer rebellion was suppressed by the allied forces at Pekin. And all intervention by a single state, though disguised as peaceful penetration, or benevolent assimilation, is fraught with hatred, fear and peril to the entire world.

Slowly, irresistibly, the world is moving toward a federation of all churches in the common task of Christianity and a league of all civilized states in the tasks of civilization. The leaders of men discovered long ago that it is easier to do a large thing than a little thing. It may prove easier to federate twenty nations than to federate any two of them. America and Japan may find it easier to meet at a council table when many others are present than to meet and fence and bargain alone. The nations when united need not shrink from using collective force when necessary. We cannot reject the physical so long as we are in a physical body. We cannot reject our own hands and arms; we cannot reject the tools which are the extension of hands and arms; we cannot in case of attack reject those tools of defence which are the extension of the fist. But we can ever re-affirm our faith that the ultimate forces of the world are the moral forces and that

to them the final decision is committed. Rightly has Norman Angell said: "Force between men has but one use: to see that force settles no difference between them." The belligerent nations of our day have been deluging the world with written attempts to justify their deeds, dimly conscious that no army and no navy can stand against the conscience of the world. Even Bismarck told us that the decision in every war was due to the "imponderables." All the nations that have left a permanent deposit in the world have done so in proportion to their faith in the imponderables and invisibles and their reliance on the collective human conscience. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum* — the decision of the whole world cannot be wrong. To secure such a decision and provide it with an organ of expression would be the greatest advance humanity could make in our time.

This will never be the same world again. Either autocracy will triumph and the clock be set back a thousand years, or democracy will win and a free world will result. If, as we believe, the latter outcome is near, then the vast gain for the world may be worth the awful price. The finest vineyards in Sicily grow on slopes covered with the black lava once flung out from the burning core of Mount Ætna. Out of the fiery fountains

within came the hissing molten mass which overflowed all the valleys with destruction. But that very lava, disintegrated by sun and rain, broken open by seeds in the crevices and crumbled by the storm, has now become a rich soil yielding purple clusters for the needs of men. The recuperative power of nature is but a hint of the capacity for recovery and restoration that lies deep in the soul of man.

THE END

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